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SENATORS AND OFFICERS POST-TRAVEL DISCLOSURE OF TRAVEL EXPENSES

SECRETARY OF THE SENATE PUBLIC RECORDS

2019 MAR 27 AM 10: 03

This disclosure, along with a copy of the Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form and all attachments, MUST be provided to the Office of Public Records, Room 232 of the Hart Building, within 30 days after the travel is completed. Sen. Chris Van Hollen In compliance with Rule 35.2(a) and (c), I , make the following (Name of Senator/Officer) disclosures with respect to travel expenses that have been or will be reimbursed/paid for me. Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program) Private Sponsor(s) (list all): March 15-18, 2019 Travel date(s): San Diego, California Destination(s): Katherine Wilkens Name of accompanying family member (if any): Relationship to Member/Officer: Spouse ☐ Child FILL IN THE APPROPRIATE LINES. IF THE COST OF LODGING DID NOT INCREASE DUE TO THE ACCOMPANYING SPOUSE OR DEPENDENT CHILD, ONLY INCLUDE LODGING COSTS IN EMPLOYEE EXPENSES. (Attach additional pages if necessary.) Expenses for Senator/Officer: Other Expenses Meal Transportation Lodging (Amount & Description) Expenses Expenses Expenses \$208 \$1100 \$510 \$550 meeting room expenses **⊠** Good Faith Estimate ☐ Actual Amount Expenses for Accompanying Spouse or Dependent Child (if applicable) Meal Lodging Other Expenses Transportation (Amount & Description) Expenses Expenses Expenses \$208 \$1100 \$0 \$550 meeting room expenses **⊠** Good Faith Estimate ☐ Actual Amount Provide a description of all meetings and events attended. See Senate Rule 35.2(c)(6). (Attach additional pages if See attached agenda necessary.): I HAVE MADE A DETERMINATION THAT THE TRAVEL DESCRIBED ABOVE WAS IN CONNECTION WITH MY DUTIES AS AN OFFICEHOLDER, AND DID NOT CREATE THE APPEARANCE THAT LWAS USING PUBLIC OFFICE FOR PRIVATE GAIN.

(Revised 1/3/11)

Form RE-3

(Signature of Senator/Officer)

COMPETING WITH A RISING CHINA: POLICIES FOR AMERICAN INTERESTS

THE ASPEN INSTITUTE CONGRESSIONAL PROGRAM

March 15-18, 2019

San Diego, California

FRIDAY, MARCH 15

Participants arrive mid afternoon

Sen. Chris Van Hollen, and his wife, Katherine Wilkens, depart Washington, DC at 12:35 pm on United flight # 231 and arrive in San Diego at 3:01 pm.

6:30 PM - 7:30 PM
Pre-Dinner Speaker

U.S.-CHINA GLOBAL COMPETITORS: PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE China's rise to a major economic and strategic player on the global stage over the last three decades has been a phenomenal story that now positions it as a major competitor to the U.S. The prospects for the future direction of this dynamic relationship is the foundation for the weekend's discussions.

Peter Cowhey, Dean, School of Global Policy and Strategy, University of California at San Diego

7:30 PM - 9:30 PM
Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding the economic dimensions of U.S.-China relations.

SATURDAY, MARCH 16

7:30 AM - 8:30 AM

Breakfast is Available

8:30 AM - 8:45 AM

INTRODUCTION AND FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE

This conference is organized into roundtable conversations and predinner remarks. This segment will highlight how the conference will be conducted, how those with questions will be recognized, and how responses will be timed to allow for as many questions and answers as possible. This format is important to enable full participation.

> Dan Glickman, Executive Director, Aspen Institute Congressional Program

8:45 AM - 10:45 AM

Roundtable Discussion

AN OVERVIEW OF GLOBAL RIVALRY

As peer or near-peer competitors, China and the U.S. are striving to shape security architectures, trading regimes, norms and practices, and values systems worldwide. Few of the issues they face are merely bilateral. The measure of the relationship will be taken not only in Beijing and Washington, but in Africa, the Arctic, the Antarctic, Southeast Asia, outer space, and cyberspace.

- * Do the U.S. and China understand the terms and costs of their unprecedented global rivalry?
- What assets and liabilities does each nation bring to the competition?
- How are the superpowers' global ambitions related to their domestic politics?
- Which global perceptions and attitudes shape Sino-U.S. competition?

Orville Schell, Director, Center on U.S.-China Relations, The Asia Society

10:45 AM - 11:00 AM

Break

11:00 AM - 12:45 PM Roundtable Discussion

FROM ENGAGEMENT TO ADVERSITY: BILATERAL TRADE AND INVESTMENT, AND CHINA'S BELT AND ROAD INITIATIVE

After 40 years of engagement in which economics served, in China's President Xi Jinping's phrase, as the "ballast" of the relationship, American dissatisfaction with China's trade and investment policies became the fuse that ignited a comprehensive competition. China is unwilling to restructure its economy to meet American demands, however, and it is learning to leverage its wealth to build influence worldwide and within the U.S.

- Which of China's trade and investment policies pose the greatest threat to the U.S., and what are the chances of altering them?
- Is the Belt & Road Initiative, China's global expansion plan, simply a program for "predatory lending," or is China providing global public goods and rewriting rules that may be accepted?
- Should the U.S. view China's economy as developing and reforming, or as a static, mercantilist menace?
- To what degree does each country's development depend on economic engagement with the other?

Daniel Rosen, Founding Partner, The Rhodium Group

12:45 PM – 1:30 PM *Working Lunch*

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding China.

1:30 PM - 3:30 PM

EMERGING THEATERS OF COMPETITION:

Roundtable Discussion

CYBERSPACE AND ESPIONAGE, WEAPONIZATION OF SPACE, AND THE RACE TO DOMINATE ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Beijing and Washington agree that innovation is now the key to economic, military, and soft power. A key feature of their competition is the race to master and marketize emergent technologies, and Artificial Intelligence in particular, which has the capacity to accelerate and integrate other innovations. If one side gains a clear advantage in AI, the other may never catch up.

- Is China still an imitative nation, or has it developed the ability to innovate at the American scale?
- Is the American regulatory environment a spur to AI innovation, or a drag on the growth of this emerging industry?
- Which nation will likely prevail in the AI competition, and what are the global implications of dominance?

Dean Cheng, Senior Research Fellow, Asia Studies Center, the Heritage Foundation

3:30 PM - 6:00 PM
Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. policy toward China. Scholars available to meet for in-depth discussion of ideas raised in previous sessions that day include Robert Daly, Daniel Rosen, and Dean Cheng.

6:00 PM - 7:00 PM
Pre-Dinner Remarks

The Quest for Fair Trade Between the U.S. and China is a central factor impacting the relationship between these two superpowers. Professor Hanson will discuss costs and gains from expanded trade with China, which he first articulated in his piece, *The China Shock*.

Gordon Hanson, Director, Center on Global Transformation, University of California at San Diego

7:00 PM - 9:00 PM
Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide the opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding the economic dimensions of U.S.-China relations.

SUNDAY, MARCH 17, 2019

7:30 AM - 8:30 AM
Breakfast Remarks

A CHINESE PERSPECTIVE ON U.S.-CHINA RELATIONS

China sees its exponential development over the last few decades as a restoration of its destiny as a major power. China's relationship with the U.S. has been a significant factor in its dramatic growth. What is China's perspective on the U.S.-China relationship?

Yun Sun, Director, China Program, The Stimson Center

8:30 AM - 10:45 AM Roundtable Discussion

Understanding China's Quest for Power on China's Terms Under Xi Jinping, the Chinese Communist Party has aggressively used clout to fulfill an ambition to rise its stature on the global stage irrespective of its competition with the U.S. Xi's rejuvenation of a strong Chinese global presence has implications for issues of sovereignty, political, security and economic concerns as well as changing global rules in the realms of human rights and governance of internet space. China's attempt to shape global narratives and to influence investment serve its historic aspirations.

- What are the primary methods by which Beijing influences American institutions?
- What specific harms have resulted from Chinese influence operations? How widespread are they?
- What is the relationship between China's influence campaigns and its public diplomacy, espionage, and interference operations?
- How do China's actions differentiate from legitimate "soft power" activities?

Elizabeth Economy, Director for Asia, Council on Foreign Relations

10:45 AM - 11:00 AM Break

11:00 AM - 12:45 PM STANDOFF OR STATUS QUO IN THE WESTERN PACIFIC?

Roundtable Discussion

It appears that China has succeeded in establishing a "new normal" in the Western Pacific; its constant patrols near the Senkaku Islands are barely mentioned by Western media and, in the South China Sea, it has militarized artificial islands and flouted the findings of the Permanent Court of Arbitration with impunity. American Freedom of Navigation operations have not altered Chinese behavior or ambitions.

- Does the "Indo-Pacific" strategy offer realistic hope of countering. China's growing power in the region?
- What are the implications of China's growing power in the Western Pacific for U.S. alliances with Japan and South Korea, Thailand and the Philippines?
- How do Southeast Asian nations view the relative power of the U.S. and China in the region?
- How is China's more assertive stance toward Taiwan related to its policies in the Western Pacific?

Bonnie Glaser, Director, China Power Project, Center for Strategic & International Studies

12:45 PM - 1:30 PM Working Lunch

Discussion continues between members of Congress and scholars on the challenges for U.S. policy regarding China.

1:30 PM - 3:30 PM Roundtable Discussion

TOWARD AN EFFECTIVE STRATEGY: POLICY IMPLICATIONS FOR THE U.S.

The U.S. has informed China of its grievances and offered a stark declaration of its attitude toward the People's Republic of China: We are rivals. Washington has not yet articulated policies to deal with the China threat, however, much less has it integrated its policies in light of American capabilities, constraints, and national will. In sum, the U.S. does not have a strategy for managing its greatest security challenge.

- What are America's primary interests vis-à-vis China?
- What costs are the U.S. government and the American people willing to bear over the long run in competition with China?
- What does the U.S. envision as the stable end point of the China rivalry?
- What specific policies can best address American interests?

Robert Daly, Director, The Kissinger Institute, The Wilson Center

3:30 PM - 6:00 PM Individual Discussions

Members of Congress and scholars meet individually to discuss U.S. policy toward China. Scholars available to meet for in depth discussion of ideas raised in previous sessions that day include Elizabeth Economy, Bonnie Glaser, and Robert Daly.

7:00 PM - 9:00 PM Working Dinner

Seating is arranged to expose participants to a diverse range of views and provide opportunity for a meaningful exchange of ideas. Scholars and lawmakers are rotated daily. Discussion will focus on the opportunities, challenges, and potential solutions regarding the economic dimensions of U.S.-China relations.

MONDAY, MARCH 18, 2019

Participants depart in the morning

Sen. Chris Van Hollen, and his wife, Katherine Wilkens, depart San Diego at 8:10 am on United flight #546 and arrives in Washington, DC at 3:57 pm

PRIVATE SPONSOR TRAVEL CERTIFICATION FORM

This form must be completed by any private entity offering to provide travel or reimbursement for travel to Senate Members, officers, or employees (Senate Rule 35, clause 2). Each sponsor of a fact-finding trip must sign the completed form. The trip sponsor(s) must provide a copy of the completed form to each invited Senate traveler, who will then forward it to the Ethics Committee with any other required materials. The trip sponsor(s) should NOT submit the form directly to the Ethics Committee. Please consult the accompanying instructions for more detailed definitions and other key information.

The Senate Member, officer, or employee MUST also provide a copy of this form, along with the appropriate travel authorization and reimbursement form, to the Office of Public Records (OPR), Room 232 of the Hart Building, within thirty (30) days after the travel is completed.

•	nsor(s) of the trip (please list all sponsors): ne Aspen Institute, Inc. (Congressional Program)
Des	cription of the trip: To explore the relationship between the U.S. and China and current policies and policy options
— Dat	es of travel: March 15-March 18, 2019
	ze of travel: San Diego, California
Nar	ne and title of Senate invitees: See attached appendix
l ce	rtify that the trip fits one of the following categories:
X	(A) The sponsor(s) are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal <u>and</u> do not retain or employ registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal <u>and</u> no lobbyist or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.
	(B) The sponsor or sponsors are not registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal, but retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal and the trip meets the requirements of Senate Rule 35.2(a)(2)(A)(i) or (ii) (see question 9).
×	I certify that the trip will not be financed in any part by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal.
	E AND
X	I certify that the sponsor or sponsors will not accept funds or in-kind contributions earmarked directly or indirectly for the purpose of financing this specific trip from a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal or from a private entity that retains or employs one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal.
l ce	rtify that:
X	The trip will not in any part be planned, organized, requested, or arranged by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principal except for de minimis lobbyist involvement.
X	The traveler will not be accompanied on the trip by a registered lobbyist or agent of a foreign principa except as provided for by Committee regulations relating to lobbyist accompaniment (see question 9).

9.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 6(B)				
	I certify that if the sponsor or sponsors retain or employ one or more registered lobbyists or agents of a				
	foreign principal, one of the following scenarios applies: (A) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and one				
	overnight stay) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip.				
	(B) The trip is for attendance or participation in a one-day event (exclusive of travel time and two				
	overnight stays) and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will accompany the				
	Member, officer, or employee on any segment of the trip (see questions 6 and 10).				
	(C) The trip is being sponsored only by an organization or organizations designated under § 501(c)(3)				
	of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 and no registered lobbyists or agents of a foreign principal will				
	accompany the Member, officer, or employee at any point throughout the trip.				
10.	USE ONLY IF YOU CHECKED QUESTION 9(B)				
	If the trip includes two overnight stays, please explain why the second night is practically required for				
	Senate invitees to participate in the travel:				
11.	An itinerary for the trip is attached to this form. I certify that the attached itinerary is a detailed (hour-				
	by-hour), complete, and final itinerary for the trip.				
12.	. Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting the trip:				
12.	•				
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is the sole sponsor of this conference and				
	developed the agenda, organized the travel, planned the conference, and invited the participants.				
	See attached appendix.				
	······································				
13.	Briefly describe the stated mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission:				
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program (AICP) is a non-profit organization, and its broad mission is conducting nonpartisan forums				
	and the exchange of ideas on issues impacting the U.S. and the world. AICP's conference				
	on China intends to examine US policy toward China and how it might evolve in the coming decades. See attached appendix.				
14.	Briefly describe each sponsor's prior history of sponsoring congressional trips:				
	The Aspen Institute Congressional Program has conducted international and domestic conferences for				
	members of Congress for over 35 years. On occasion, other policy programs of The Aspen Institute, Inc.,				
	sponsor trips that involve members of Congress.				

15.	Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips):
	In addition to the conferences, AICP annually offers 25 breakfasts for members of Congress,
	5 lunches for congressional staff members - each event offering a leading scholar on a key domestic or international issue.
	One congressional staff conference per year is offered on a key foreign or domestic issue.
16.	Total Expenses for Each Participant:

•	Transportation Expenses	Lodging Expenses	Meal Expenses	Other Expenses
	Total: \$2200	Total: \$510	Total: \$416	Total: \$1100
Good Faith estimate	\$1100 for the senator	\$510 for the senator	\$208 for the senator	\$550 for meeting room expenses for the senator
Actual Amounts	\$1100 for the senator's spouse	\$0 for the senator's spouse	\$208 for the senator's spouse	\$550 meeting room expenses for the senator's spouse

17. State whether a) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized without regard to congressional participation or b) the trip involves an event that is arranged or organized specifically with regard to congressional participation:

This event is arranged specifically with regard to c	ongressional participation.
	•

18. Reason for selecting the location of the event or trip

San Diego enables scholars from the University of California-San Diego's 21st Century China Center

School of Global Policy & Strategy to participate in the conference.

19.	Name and	location	of hotel	or other	lodeine	facility:
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20. Reason(s) for selecting hotel or other lodging facility:

The hotel offers conferences services required including technology and meeting space. Facility security was a key

factor including private meeting and dining space.

21.	Describe how the daily expenses for lodging, meals, and other expenses provided to trip participants compares to the maximum per diem rates for official Federal Government travel:				
	Lodging and meals are under published per diem.				
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·				
22.	Describe the type and class of transportation being provided. Indicate whether coach, business-class or first class transportation will be provided. If first-class fare is being provided, please explain why first-class travel is necessary:				
	Roundtrip coach class flight on a commercial airline carrier and coach ground				
	(taxi/Uber/Lyft) from/to San Diego airport				
23.	I represent that the travel expenses that will be paid for or reimbursed to Senate invitees do not include expenditures for recreational activities, alcohol, or entertainment (other than entertainment provided to all attendees as an integral part of the event, as permissible under Senate Rule 35).				
24.	List any entertainment that will be provided to, paid for, or reimbursed to Senate invitees and explain why the entertainment is an integral part of the event:				
	None				
25.	I hereby certify that the information contained therein is true, complete and correct. (For trips involving more than one sponsor, you musting tude a completed signature page for each additional sponsor): Signature of Travel Sponsor: Dan Glickman, Vice President and Director of the Congressional Program				
	Name and Title: Dan Glickman, Vice President and Director of the Congressional Program				
	Name of Organization: The Aspen Institute Congressional Program				
	Address: 2300 N St. NW Ste. 700 Washington, DC 20037				
	Telephone Number: (202) 736-5859 (Lisa Jones)				
	Fax Number: NA				
	E-mail Address: lisa.jones@aspeninst.org				

Aspen Institute Congressional Program – San Diego Conference – March 2019

Appendix

Question 5: Name and title of Senate invitees

Sen. Roger Wicker and Mrs. Wicker; Sen. Pat Roberts and Mrs. Roberts;

Sen. Chris Coons and Mrs. Coons; Sen. Chris Van Hollen and Katherine Wilkens

Question 12: Briefly describe the role of each sponsor in organizing and conducting this trip

The Aspen Institute Inc. (Congressional Program)

Aspen Institute is the sole sponsor of this conference on "Competing with a Rising China: Policies for American Interests." The organization has received general support and unrestricted funds from The Henry Luce Foundation, Democracy Fund foundation, and Rockefeller Brothers Fund foundation. These foundation funds were not earmarked for a specific trip.

Question 13: Briefly describe the state mission of each sponsor and how the purpose of the trip relates to that mission.

The AICP's conference in San Diego is for members of Congress to take an in-depth look and to focus on federal policy issues related to China and the relationship between the US and China and its impact.

Question 15: Briefly describe the educational activities performed by each sponsor (other than sponsoring congressional trips.)

The Aspen Institute holds numerous educational activities, including conferences, roundtables, briefings and other nonpartisan forums on critical issues facing the U.S. and the world.

Question 16: Daily breakdown of meeting room expenses for the per person total of \$550

March 15: \$183

March 16: \$183

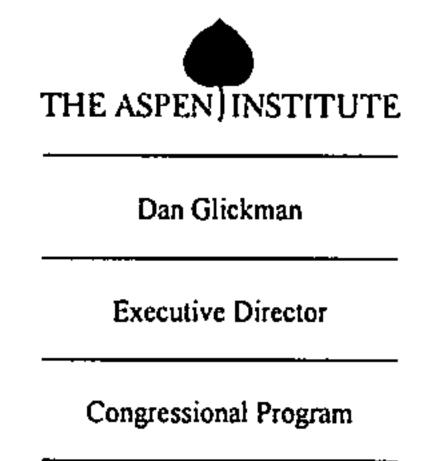
March 17: \$183

Question 16: Breakdown of transportation expenses

Sen. Van Hollen: Air travel Roundtrip - \$1000; ground transportation from/to airport: \$100

Ms. Wilkens: Air travel Roundtrip- \$1000; ground transportation from/to airport: \$100

December 3, 2018



The Honorable Chris Van Hollen United States Senate Washington, DC 20510

Dear Chris:

I would like to invite you and Katherine to participate in a congressional conference on *Competing with a Rising China: Policies for America's Interest*, March 15-18, 2019, in San Diego, California. We have limited space and must hear from you proactively as soon as possible if you wish to participate.

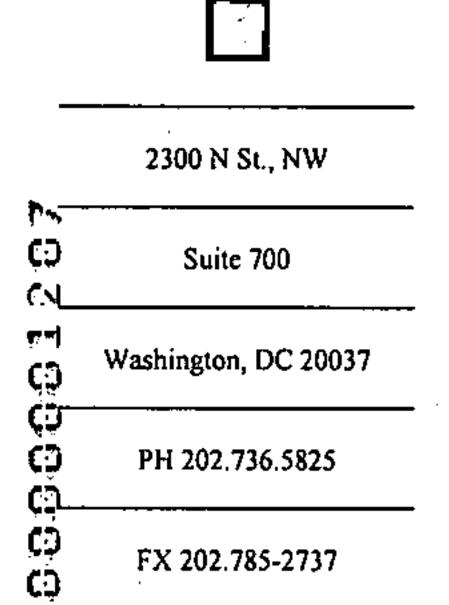
Relations between the U.S. and China have shifted markedly in an adversarial direction. The U.S. has initiated tariffs on Chinese trade. Our National Security Strategy states that we are in a new era of "great power competition" with China. Vice President Pence recently accused China of interfering in our domestic politics. China has continued its assertive outreach with its Belt and Road Initiative which further extends China's realm of influence positioning it as a global competitor to U.S. interests. These concerns and more will frame our weekend seminar of discussions.

We are assembling a mix of prominent American scholars, representing a range of views, to assist our discussions. Attendance is by invitation only, with no outside observers, lobbyists, or congressional staff. Funding is provided solely by grants from foundations—no government, individual, corporate or special interest funds are accepted.

Under guidelines established by the Senate Select Ethics Committee, we will provide you with a signed Private Sponsor Travel Certification Form affirming that no lobbyists fund this activity, that the Aspen Institute does hire or retain lobbyists, and that no lobbyists will be present. Our purpose is education, not advocacy.

This program is designed for Members of both the Senate and the House. Please note that because the House has adopted rules that preclude registered lobbyists from attending our events, if your accompanying spouse or family member is a registered lobbyist, the rules would bar their participation.

Departure will be on Friday, March 15th and we will return on Monday, March 18th. Should you accept the invitation, it is required that you participate through the duration of the conference.



www.aspeninstitute.org

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December 3, 2018 Page Two

Travel expenses, including economy comfort class airfare, meals, lodging and meeting facilities will be paid by the Aspen Institute Congressional Program. Under the ethics rules, no expenses are covered for entertainment or recreation. Congressional participants are limited to only one accompanying family member.

The Aspen Institute, an independent, nonprofit organization founded in 1950, provides a nonpartisan, neutral forum for leaders to discuss critical issues. The Institute's Congressional Program is designed to promote leadership on selected public policy issues in the Congress by bringing legislators together with internationally-recognized scholars and analysts in high-level discussion. Since the program's inception, over 450 Members of Congress have participated in the 137 conferences we have conducted.

Additionally, we hold breakfast meetings in the Capitol throughout the year to keep Members of Congress up-to-date between our annual conferences. We hope you will be able to participate in the extended educational offerings of our breakfast series.

If you have any questions, please feel free to call me at 202-736-5825.

We hope you will join us for this important conference.

Sincerely,

Dan Glickman Executive Director

Aspen Institute Congressional Program